



## WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1851.

In making up our list for the *National Era*, it is not required that subscribers shall all be at the same post office.

Persons sending us clubs can always make additions to the same at the regular club prices.

No receipts are sent from this office. As our terms are strictly cash in advance, the receipt of the paper will be a sufficient acknowledgment that the money has been received.

A subscriber in Crawfordsville, Indiana, sends us two dollars, but does not give his name.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

Our grateful acknowledgments are due to the numerous friends who have engaged in extending our subscription list. In some cases, they go so far in their zeal for the cause we advocate, as to advance the money for subscriptions they obtain, agreeing to wait until it can be repaid, by those whom they thus favor. Some leave their business for a day or two, or more, which they generously devote to the task of procuring subscribers. One subscriber, a few days since, sent from Adrian, Michigan, forty subscribers, all new, except eight. From Worcester, Mass., owing to the exertions of three disinterested friends in that place, we have, within a few days, received upwards of a hundred new subscribers. We merely mention these cases as illustrative of the efficient agencies by which we are sustained. Nor is this the all; the hundreds of letters that bring us the names of new and old subscribers, contain more decided, heartier approval of our course than we have ever before received.

All this is gratifying to us personally, and also as an evidence of the increasing interest in the great question to which the *Era* is consecrated. Judging from our extensive correspondence, we should say that the supporters of the cause of freedom have not only increased in numbers, but in zeal and diligence.

## TREASON TRIALS.

We give up several columns this week to an account of the Treason Trials, now in progress at Philadelphia. The testimony against Mr. Hanway amounts to just nothing at all. It seems to be conceded on all hands, that whoever may have committed treason, he is innocent. The grand jury showed great folly, or something worse, when they indicted him.

Despotism is alike all over the world. Here is a touch of its quality in Italy: "Despotism in Italy—Count Guerrieri and Baron Luti, of Verona, have been found guilty of high treason—the former for having received an anonymous letter, treating of the plans of the revolutionary party—the latter for having accepted an invitation to the house of Guerrieri, for the purpose of pursuing, and afterwards burning, that letter. The sentence of the military court adjudged ten years' imprisonment in a fortress to the Count, and two years to the Baron; but Radetzky, it is said, has seen fit to diminish the period allotted in the sentence by one half in the case of each."

Williams in Philadelphia is indicted for treason, because he communicated information to fugitive slaves, that a posse was on their track, and Hanway, because being present when the struggle took place between the slaves and slave-catchers, he refused to take part in it. The Italian Despot has far more to proceed upon than our American Republican Grand Jury. The Italian offenders were sentenced merely to imprisonment, one for five years, the other for one. Our merciful Government proposes to hang the Philadelphia offenders. American Despotism is more bloody in its demands than Italian. And yet we boast of our liberal institutions, our high civilization! The Federal Government and the Grand Jury of Philadelphia have disgraced the American People by this infamous attempt to blind and slay American citizens on the altar of Slavery.

## RATIFICATION OF THE COMPROMISE.

The Union Whigs of the South are anxious to unite with the Democratic party in the approaching Presidential canvass, but upon such conditions as will fully justify their conduct to the Southern people generally. Proceeding on the assumption that the Whig party is not able to sustain effectually the policy of the Administration on the Slavery Question, in consequence of the controlling influence of Sewardism, they demand from the Democrats a complete endorsement of the Compromise and Fugitive Law, in all their Conventions. The introduction into the Democratic caucus of resolutions embracing such an endorsement, was in response to this demand, and how much the result grieved the heart of the National Union Whigs may be learned from the speech of Mr. Cabell, of Florida, on the organization of the House, who avowed that he had come to Washington fully prepared to act with the Democratic party, but the conduct of the caucus had modified his views.

Mr. Foote is understood to represent the Union Compromise party of the South, headed by such men as Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb. Their policy, as we said, is to induce the adoption by the Democratic party in Congress and in National Conventions of resolutions ratifying the Compromise and Fugitive Law. Hence the introduction of Mr. Foote's resolutions in the Senate, and the intention to present similar resolutions in the House. Let the Democratic party in both branches adopt them with considerable unanimity, and the allied forces of Georgia and Mississippi of Compromise Democrats and Whigs will be satisfied. Their Union will be cemented; State Rights men and Secessionists, so called, be thrown overboard; Messrs. Foote, Cobb, Stephens, and Toombs, rally to the support of General Cass, who then, it is fondly hoped, may be able to defy the Free Soil Democrats. In this way, a new party, purged from Secessionism in the South and Free-Soilism in the North, will be organized, embracing Union Whigs and Democrats so called, represented by the Georgia patriots, Senator Foote, Mr. Cass, Mr. Webster, and other kindred spirits.

It may be asked why the Compromise Whigs of the South will not be satisfied with the action of the Whig caucus adopting the Adjustment measures? The explanation is obvious. They have at least the ordinary affection for offices, and besides, prefer a National Party wielding the power of a majority. But, the Whig party they see prostrated at the North. It has carried, we believe, but two States, Wisconsin and Vermont, and in them its policy is anything but agreeable to the Southern Whigs. Continued connection with a party broken up by the attempt to coerce its acquiescence in the Adjustment measures cannot be otherwise than disastrous. The Liberty party they think, is in the second rank throughout the Union, so that if at their instance it will adopt in Congress and in National Conventions the Compromise and Fugitive Law, as a part of its platform, they can enter into an alliance with it, share some of the spoils, and make a merit of their conduct in the eyes of the South.

With this policy laid open, our readers will understand the policy of the resolutions introduced by Mr. Foote, and to be introduced in the House—and they can also understand

the movements of the several parties in relation to the Senate.

In the Senate, last Monday, they were taken up, and Mr. Foote delivered a written speech in their support. Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, took the floor in reply, and denounced the introduction of the resolutions. He seemed to regard it as an insult and wrong to those gentlemen in the South who had resisted the Compromise, as oppressive to the South.

Mr. Rhet obtained the floor, and the Senate adjourned. Of the debate, we shall have more to say hereafter.

VERNON, November 29, 1851.

To the Editor of the National Era:

I chanced last evening to be in company with the authors of "The Reveries of an Old Maid," and Kossuth being the theme of conversation, I suggested to her to write a welcome to him, to be published in the *National Era*. This morning she sent me the following lines, which, unless my partiality for the writer misleads my critical judgment, are worthy of a place in your columns. I forward them to you for your next issue. If you publish, please print the signature, which is to be heretofore the name of plume.

For the National Era.

KOSUTH.

BY CATHERINE LEDYARD.

He is coming—he is coming—Kossuth, tried and true and brave!

Even now his ship is riding on the broad Atlantic wave.

Every strong blast from the eastward brings him nearer and near;

But a brief day of waiting, and the hero will be here!

Far more noble in disaster and defeat, the gallant man,

Than Napoleon, Alexander, on the proudest field they won.

They who fight for love of power, lust of gold, or hope of glory,

Blacken o'er the page of history with a dark and mournful story;

On their names the curse of thousands mingles with the world's loud praise,

And the blood of needless slaughter soils the greenest of their days.

But for those whose sword is wielded in the cause of Liberty,

That the fetters may be broken, and all the oppressed go free—

Blessed is the strife they lead in—holy is the war they wage!

And their fame, in fadeless lustre, stars the darkness of their age.

Such art thou, heroic Magyar! and the deeds that thou hast done

Set thee side by side with Hampden, Hoer, Tell, and Washington!

What though now the Austrian Vulture gloats upon the head of chain,

And is lost, for now, the battle—it is never fought in vain.

Let him flap his gory pinions, utter loud his harsher cries;

For a single warrior fallen, shall a hundred warriors rise.

Once again the shout of victory from the Magyar shall be heard,

And the arrow of destruction shall bring down the cruel bird!

Welcome Kossuth! welcome chieftain, spirit, fiercer than the foe!

Let us pledge the glorious present, and the past's proud memory.

Honor to the living heroes! honor to the brave who fell!

Each has kept his faith unshaken, each his trust has guarded well.

For the wrongs that these have suffered, for what thou may yet endure,

Be the vengeance quick and wholeness, the reward be swift and sure.

Long enough has ancient Tyranny held stern and bloody sway;

It must perish—it must perish—and we all "involve the day."

Let it come through fields of carnage, seas of slaughter—better far

Than the slow death of oppression all the measure of our war!

Let it reign till Hungary's soil, home of the true and brave,

Freer than our own America, bears not a single slave.

## FREE SOIL NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The National Convention of the Friends of Freedom that met at Cleveland, Ohio, in September, appointed a Committee to call a National Convention of Anti-Slavery voters for the purpose of nominating candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency. For our own part, we prefer that National Conventions should be called in a more popular manner, that they should grow out of the action of People's Conventions in the several States. But as this Committee has been appointed, and as its members are among the most reliable of the friends of freedom, there is an obvious propriety in co-operating with its movements. The Chairman, we understand, has lately addressed a letter to the members, asking their opinion as to the time and place of holding the Convention, and also as to the form of the call that should be issued. A considerable number of the members being in Washington, they met a few days since, with several of our best friends in Congress, to confer upon the subject. There was great unanimity of opinion, and the conclusions to which they came will be communicated, we are informed, to the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Lewis, of Cincinnati.

We learn that no doubt existed as to the propriety of such a Convention. With one exception, we believe, all concurred in the belief that the action of the old parties would be such as to render independent nominations necessary. But they were unanimously of opinion that the Convention should be held after the Conventions of those parties, not that they had any doubt as to the nature of their opinion, but they held that the American People would be better prepared to decide their course upon facts than upon presumptions.

As to the place, all but one agreed on Pittsburgh as their first choice, and Cleveland as their second. The one referred to preferred Cleveland first, next Pittsburgh.

They all desired that the determination to hold a National Convention should be proclaimed, and the subject kept steadily in view, though for reasons we suppose they will assign in their reply to the Chairman, they thought it best that the call itself should be postponed till after the old Parties had made their nominations. The usual time for the meeting of the Whig and Democratic Conventions is in the latter part of May and first week in June.

It is to be hoped that the Committee may harmonize in opinion and action.

ILLINOIS.—The Free Democrats have called a Convention of the Friends of Liberty to meet at Princeton, Bureau Co., Illinois on Wednesday, 22d of January, 1852, for the nomination of candidates for Governor, Lieut. Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor and Treasurer, and electors of President and Vice President, and effect a thorough organization of the friends of Liberty for the State, and through all the counties. It is called as a mass convention of the people, opposed to slavery and the proslavery administration of the Government, and the Fugitive Slave Law, and the Compromise measures; and all persons of these views, and those who would have the Government of the country administered on the principles of justice, on which it is founded, without distinction of former parties, are requested to meet in the Convention, and form for the State a Free Democratic and True Liberty Party.

## KOSUTH, THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE.

Kossuth has come. The People are honoring him as they should, though the Government has not as yet made up its mind what to do. Mr. Fillmore, who took the initiative in his release, by instructing the American Minister at Constantinople to interfere for it, now turns him over to Congress, fearful of receiving him, lest Austria and Russia might be offended. The Administration journals justify this policy, and on these grounds:

It was both discreet and delicate (says the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*) to throw upon Congress the whole matter of the reception of Kossuth. It was Congress, and not the Executive, that invited Kossuth to this country; and it was by an order of Congress that a national ship was sent to bring him to our shores. Congress, therefore, should decide and direct the mode of receiving and entertaining him, so far as the Government is concerned. Our relations with Austria are of an amicable character at the present time, and if they are to be changed, the responsibility of the conduct which is to produce such a change should rest upon the Legislative branch of the Government. By referring the subject to Congress, the President gets rid of all difficulty arising from the ungrateful likelihood of being taken Austria at the official reception of Kossuth by the United States.

The *Advertiser* is mistaken on one point: it was the President who first invited Kossuth to this country; the action of Congress was subsequent. And now, after having invited him, and in obedience to an order of Congress sent a Government vessel to convey him hither, he fears to receive or treat him as the nation's guest, lest it should give umbrage to Austria!

Well, he shuffles off the responsibility, and lays it upon Congress. What does Congress do? Look at the record of proceedings. A resolution is introduced by Mr. Foote, proposing the appointment of a committee to make appropriate preparations for the reception of the exiled champion of Republicanism. He advocates it with great vehemence, and is sustained by General Cass. But, unexpected opposition from slaveholding members is encountered. Mr. Dawson of Georgia says a resolution is improper—without precedent—Kossuth has done nothing for this country—in fact, he knows very little about him—he is a great man, to be sure, but not greater than many other men—he is not entitled to any such distinction. Mr. Hale proposes an amendment—"and that we extend our sympathy to all the victims of oppression throughout the world." This, he thinks, is placing the resolution on the ground of a great principle, and takes off the edge of its application to Austria alone. But the amendment and resolution only develop more rapidly the hostility of the Southern members. Mr. Berrien of Georgia incidentally discloses his opposition, and Mr. Atchison of Missouri betrays a willingness to slay over the resolution. Mr. Underwood of Kentucky wages deadly war against it, on the ground specially that it is intervention—intervention in foreign affairs—and, if Congress may interpose moral force in the affairs of foreign States, it may do the same in the affairs of the States of the Union. The doctrine of Intervention was dangerous as a precedent for interference with the domestic institutions of the South. All the speakers unwittingly appeared to concede that slavery in the South was oppression, and therefore Mr. Hale's amendment applied to Southern slaves, as well as to the subjects of foreign oppression.

The discussion was cut short by an adjournment, everybody expecting that the next day would witness a renewal of it. Nothing of the kind. That speech of Mr. Underwood was fatal. A change had come over the mover of the resolution, and we fear, over the famous advocate of Non-Interference with Austria, Mr. Cass. The Georgia Senators were opposed to the resolution—and our readers are yet to understand that the great aim of certain politicians, now of the National Union party, is to bring the Whigs of Georgia into the Democratic party, to wheel them into the support of Mr. Cass, if possible. The Senate met; Mr. Foote brought forth, and withdrew his resolution, alleging as a reason the formidable opposition it had encountered! The first time we ever knew Mr. Foote to yield so tamely to opposition. Ah—had his heart been enlisted in the matter so powerfully, as in his grand scheme for uniting Southern Whigs with the Democratic party, he would not have given up the struggle so easily.

But there is another point still more serious, to which we would call the attention of the American People. Mr. Bodiso sat close behind the Southern Senators while this discussion was going on, an agonized listener, and we apprehend, from his movements, more than a listener. Mr. Calhoun, the Spanish Minister, who refused to be actuated by the same spirit of forbearance towards us. They may interfere, both with the Administration and Congress actually, by personal solicitation or admonition, but silence! is their command to our Government. This is abominable. Would God we had an Administration and a Congress that would spurn such intermeddling!

We suppose, then, nothing is to be done. Kossuth has been invited hither by the Government; a national vessel was despatched to convey him; but the moment he lands upon our shores, the President turns the cold shoulder to the Nation's Guest, and Congress, what between slaveholding conservatism and party feeling and the interference of slave representatives of European Despotism, will probably follow his example. Should it refuse to act, Messrs. Bodiso and Hulseman will promptly assert their imperial masters of the submissive temper of our Government; and that, however extravagant the demonstrations of a portion of the People may be, their President, Senators, and Representatives, fear the power of the Rulers of Europe much more than they love the rights of the masses.

We loathe this dastardly Conservatism, which is forever stifling the free spirit of a free People. Were the Queen of Spain driven from her throne by a successful revolution, she would find an asylum at any Court in Europe. The Emperor of Austria would receive her, do her special honor, give her sympathy and support, and not dream that thereby he would give just cause of offence to the new Government of Spain. He would claim the right to ally out of Hungary, and who would have esteemed its independence but for the outrageous interposition of Russia, is driven from his country, a martyr in the cause of republicanism.

He comes to our shores, the greatest, purest, most formidable of the European champions of republicanism, the system with which this country is identified—but the Government of the country refuses to receive or recognize him. It is afraid to honor in him the Principle on which our Constitution and institutions rest, lest it should offend the Despotic Powers of Europe!

We hear of Treason against the Government, because a few poor colored men, driven to desperation, resisted in a single instance the enforcement of a single law of the country. The Government itself, if it should refuse to receive Kossuth, will be tried and condemned by the American People, as guilty of high treason against the Cause of the People, not only in this country, but in all countries.

THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE—FOREIGN RELATIONS.

How shall our example, and the action of our People and Government, be made to aid powerfully, though peacefully, the cause of freedom throughout the world?

We are an Aristocracy enjoying exclusive privileges, established in several of the States of this Union, and tolerated by the Federal Constitution, our example would certainly not be one of pure Republicanism, nor could it be appealed to by the nations of Europe as a conclusive argument in favor of the Democratic Principle. The People might refer to the Democracy of these States excluding aristocracy, but their Oppressors could point triumphantly to the States recognizing it. Especially, should it be known that the aristocracy of these States controlled the national policies and councils of the country, and that no measure of public policy could be adopted without its consent, would the influence of our free institutions generally, in behalf of Freedom abroad, be seriously impaired—for the advocates of Despotism in Europe would point to this fact as proof that the peace, order, and prosperity of our country depended in fact upon the conservative restraints of the Aristocracy Principle.

Now, what is the slaveholding class of the South but an Aristocracy of the Aristocracy? For we monopolize not only land and capital but labor. To its possession of exclusive political privileges, it adds the absolute ownership of three millions of laboring people. What privileged order in the world is invested with such power, such mastery as this? The nobility of England possesses land and titles, but, as it respects natural rights, occupies the same level as the masses that wear out their lives in the mines and factories.

With such a privileged order in this Republic, how can its example of Democracy be other than an imperfect one? How greatly must its influence be counteracted by its want of completeness? And, this privileged order exercises a despotic power over our parties; exacts homage from our distinguished statesmen; stamps itself upon our whole system of National Policy; and its prominent representatives claim for it that it is the grand conservative element of the Republic. With what regret must the most ardent advocates of Freedom in Europe regard this gross anomaly in our institutions! How it diminishes the force of the argument attempted to be drawn by them from our example, in behalf of Popular Rights!

The elementary principle of European Despotism and American Slavery is the same—the denial of the natural rights of mankind. Not an argument can be adduced in favor of the one, which is not applicable to the other. American slaveholders pronounce the affirmation of the equality of rights among men, contained in our Declaration of Independence, a rhetorical flourish. "Amen!" says Nicholas. "Worse than a rhetorical flourish, it is a damnable heresy," says Pope Pius. Slavery is "inherently in our social system." "Just the same with our Absolute Monarchy," says Nicholas. "The slaves are unfit for freedom. So are the ignorant masses of Europe," says Pius. Slavery is the conservative of liberty and order. "Exactly so," says Nicholas, "is Absolute Monarchy—it is the guardian of the liberties of the subject and the pillar of order." The emancipation of the slaves must lead to anarchy and civil war. "Alas, the same dread consequences will result from the emancipation of the masses," says Metternich. It is in the order of Nature and Providence that there should be a superior class for government, and an inferior class for labor—and that the laborer is not qualified to take part in the legislation necessary for his interests, says Chancellor Harper. "Beautifully expressed!" responds Metternich—"our American brethren furnish the most elegant arguments for the despotism of the few against the brutal masses of Europe are forever clamoring."

In fact, American slavery is a powerful ally of European despotism; all the arguments adduced to justify its perpetration or excuse its toleration, are arguments in support or palliation of European despotism; and so long as this system shall continue to be tolerated among us, to exert a controlling influence over the Government, and to find advocates and apologists, the effect of our example on free institutions must be deplorably weakened in Europe.

The first duty, then, incumbent on every American Republican, anxious to aid the cause of popular freedom in Europe, is to seek earnestly, by all constitutional means, the abolition of slavery, the establishment in his own country of the law of universal freedom, so that it may present a coherent, complete, all-prevailing example of the truth and beneficence of the Democratic principle.

Our next duty is to manifest sympathy with the wrongs of the People of Europe, hatred of Absolutism, opposition to monarchial and aristocratic institutions, approbation of reformatory movements, and of revolution, when necessary to reform; to recognize with gratitude the services of foreigners who have distinguished themselves by their devotion to the rights of mankind; and to grant substantial aid, when required for the support of the cause of popular freedom. We speak now of the People, acting in their individual, not national capacity.

American as a home should be careful, in their intercourse with foreign tourists, not to indulge in disparaging remarks upon their own institutions, and abroad, should carry their country with them, remembering that they will be taken as representatives of its principles and character. They should be living apostles of Democracy, bearing testimony in all lands against Tyranny, in favor of Republicanism, and upholding the great truths of the Declaration of Independence.

Revolutionary movements abroad, founded on right principles, should be hailed with acclamation by popular assemblies in this country, and sustained, instead of being denounced, by the Press. Kossuth, in his noble address to the People of the United States, bears witness to the new energy inspired in the hearts of his countrymen by the generous enthusiasm with which the Americans hailed their heroic struggle against Austrian despotism. Surely, the opinion and voice of a Republic of twenty-two millions of People, with territory, commerce, wealth, and intelligence, that must secure for it, in the course of a few years more, the first position among the nations of the world, cannot be regarded with indifference by either the monarchs or the masses of Europe.

But not to express opinion of opinion and sympathy, should our action be confined. The oppressors of Europe have the wealth, the standing army, the clergy, the resources of all established orders at their command. Though a miserable minority, with such means they are enabled to keep the millions in bondage.

Numbers and intelligence, without organization and means, can effect little against a Government well organized, with a powerful military force at its disposal, and money enough to support it. What the Revolutionists of Europe want is organization and means, and we rejoice that their leaders now clearly understand this. The Mazzini, the papers state, and the revolutionary committee of which he is head, has already raised a loan of five millions of dollars, and deposited it in the Bank of England. The mission of Dr. Kinkel to this country is to raise contributions to a similar loan for the purpose of aiding in revolutionizing Germany. A committee organized in London, with branches in this country, is laboring to create a fund of \$2,000,000, to be called the German National Loan, to be made up of individual subscriptions. The committee is composed of exiled patriots of established reputation, who pledge their efforts, should the revolution they propose be successful, to induce the new Revolutionary Government to recognize this loan as a national debt. Should the revolution fail, of course the contributors will give, not for the loss of their investment, but for the failure of the good cause. Conservative papers would not have even the spirit, as they do at every attempt to place our People actively on the side of Human Liberty.

"If the people of Continental Europe," says the *Albany State Register*, "are fitted to sustain republican institutions, they will have them. All the armies of emperors and kings cannot prevent them. If, in order to get up a revolution, it is necessary to hire the people to make it, the effort, whatever fine sounding phrases may be used to dignify it, is nothing but brigandage."

Degenerate Americans, inheriting in security the blessings of Liberty purchased for them by the blood of their fathers, affect contempt for the oppressed people of Europe, because they do not at once assume their rights. Were they living in Europe, instead of this Republic, they would not have even the spirit to complain of their masters. What could the patriots of 1776 have done, without loans from abroad? Without money, their attempt at revolution would have been an abortion. Were the loans they obtained in Europe necessary to hire the people to make a revolution? Our Revolution, then, was nothing but brigandage, and our fathers a gang of brigands, in the judgment of this heartless American!

Money was just as necessary to the attempt of the United Colonies to throw off the British yoke, as it is necessary to the European patriots, in their movements against Absolutism. And yet, had it been possible to consummate a revolution, without foreign loans, the American Colonists would have been far more favorably situated than European revolutionists are now. They were separated from their Sovereign by an ocean, which it then required almost as many weeks as it now does days, to pass over. No standing army was present to overawe them; no police, to watch every movement, note every word, and by sudden arrest and incarceration, break the spirit of the people, and prevent concerted action. Besides, they were already organized as self-governing communities, and the whole machinery of government was in fact under their control. With all these favoring circumstances, and backed to by the alliance of France, which waged a war with England on her own account, it is no wonder that they were able to compel the recognition of their independence.

With these facts staring us in the face, is it for us to make light of the obstacles in the way of a successful European Revolution; to sneer at the failures of its champions, as if they afforded evidence of their unfitness for freedom; and to oppose all prudential preparations to insure success, on the ground that whenever the people of Europe shall be qualified for republican institutions, they will have them, kings and emperors, with their standing armies, to the contrary notwithstanding? Just as if the long-established thrones of Europe and their armed legions could be blown away by a breath!

The repeated failure of the People of Europe to overthrow Tyranny is no proof of their unfitness for Freedom or Republic of their institutions—no proof that they are not as brave, as intelligent, as aspiring as Americans, but that the obstacles in their way are such as never existed in this country; and it were a damning disgrace to us, who are enjoying a Freedom not by our labors and sufferings, should we refuse to aid, to the very extent of our ability, the efforts of our brethren in other lands who have yet to gain their Freedom, and that, too, through such a storm of blood and fire as never beat over the devoted heads of our patriot fathers.

We say, then, give your money—give it as freely as European patriots are prepared to give their blood in the cause of Freedom. It is one way in which you can honor the memory of those who shed their blood for your freedom. It will be an evidence of your devotion to Popular Rights; of your gratitude to the Almighty Ruler of Nations, in whose name the war of the Revolution of 1776 was undertaken, who is ever working for the overthrow of Tyranny, and whose attributes are pledged to sustain every well-directed effort to subvert the Wrong and establish the Right.

And, when the hour shall arrive for the decisive struggle between Absolutism and the Popular Cause, we know of no reason why individuals in this country imbued with an ardent love of liberty, if they believe in the righteousness of the cause, should shrink from proceeding to the theatre of conflict, and do for Freedom in Europe what Lafayette and other generous foreigners did for Freedom in America. The cause of Greece attracted many generous recruits from American Soil. The hour is hastening on when we must be prepared to respond to the far higher claims of the cause of Europe.

We have spoken thus far of our example, and of the modes in which Americans, as individuals, may interfere in behalf of Liberty throughout the world.

In our next number we may have something to say in relation to the duty of the Government.

## For the National Era.

KOSUTH.

BY CAROLINE CHERBRO.

The name whither to hail him? Shall it be "Immortal Magyar"? Battle-chimes reverberate. "Patriot! Martyr? Statesman? Let us bring No crown, no sword, no costly name—for, he hears a People's woe! Let crowning be—Salute him Priest—High Priest of Sacrifice! Upon his heart a hapless nation lies—He seeks not, needs not praise! let praise! That tribute more for valuer men than be. Give him your sympathy, your aid—or, tears; But mock not patriot grief with Pride's salute: Greet him with blessings, but not reverry; To him 'twere insult—shame, to these dread years! Receive him as Christ's Freedom should Kossuth!"

\* Pronounced Kosuth.

Note.—Grace Greenwood's noble letter on the Exile's Visit to America suggested my thought. C. C.

## THE PROJECT OF DIVIDING CALIFORNIA.

The advocates of a division of California held their Convention at Barbours, on the 20th inst. The three counties of San Diego, Los Angeles, and Santa Barbara voted, but were not represented. A single individual appeared from Monterey, but the counties of San Luis Obispo, Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, Contra Costa, San Francisco, and the several counties of the San Joaquin Valley, all proposed to be included in the new Territorial Government, were unrepresented. Resolutions were passed in favor of seceding from the State, and going back to a Territorial Government; but on the question of drawing the dividing line and locating the capital the diversity of sentiment was so great that no conclusions were arrived at. Divisions proposed among the few delegates present. Those from San Diego withdrew, refusing to act with the other two counties. The delegation of Los Angeles was divided, and the President seceded from the Convention.

The entire press of San Francisco is against the proposed change. The *Stockton Journal*, edited by an emigrant from a slaveholding State, and the *Times and Transcript*, oppose it. "We have seen in fact," says the *Sonora Herald*, "but one article in any paper, except the *San Diego Herald* and *Los Angeles Star*, in favor of separation, and that was in the *Daily Union*."

The advocates of division contend that as the Southern half of the State is agricultural and the Northern mining and commercial, the same kind of legislation is not adapted to both—that taxes fall unequally upon them, as the principal wealth of the South consists in land, property. The *Sonora Herald* takes occasion from this to suggest that the people of the South are the real source of the burden of the Southern counties. Immense tracts of land are monopolized by a few thousand proprietors. The *Herald* says if they do not consider "their land worth paying taxes on, let them sell portions of it, and a Yankee and German population will not only make a living on the same, and pay taxes too, but they will lay up money rapidly. The sooner the present state of things is done away with the better. The five thousand Mormons who have lately settled here will all make money. They will work on a new system, and with new energy, and instead of wasting time in Division Conventions, resort to that other and better remedy, namely, well-directed industry."

The newspapers opposed to separation are full of denunciations of the schemes of discontented demagogues and politicians, who, they say, are urging on this movement for the sake of multiplying offices for their own benefit. But, they all agree that the formation of a slave State on the Pacific is the chief political element of the agitation. The supporters of this policy are now as bold as they are indefatigable. Disguise is scarcely attempted. They are emissaries chiefly from *South Carolina*, who, quick as lightning to resist any interference with her domestic institutions, do not hesitate to interfere with those of another State. The *Sonora Herald* is explicit on this point.

"Missionaries from South Carolina have been travelling all through the Southern valleys, and industriously trying to bring about a secession; in fact the whole scheme originated in the Southern States, but in South Carolina, and among a few slavery propagandists who had previously emigrated here. Should we go to South Carolina to disturb the peculiar institution which we feel very indignant. We say to them now, take the beam out of your own eye. Leave us alone in our own policy, with our own chosen free institutions, and we will leave you alone. But as to changing the charter of this State, and compelling our thousands of free miners to work side by side with cringing slaves, we can never consent, at least without making the struggle required of us as a people. Such a law to be the design of not a few of the prominent actors in the present comic drama. They kept the secret to themselves until they thought they were strong enough to whisper it among a few slaves. Why were they afraid to come openly, like men, and tell us what they wanted, and let the question be discussed on its real merits? Why try to tug in their Southern neighbors as thieves and dying snailshells, instead of bravely and try to make us think they themselves are the good Samaritan, ready to minister to their comfort?"

The *California Courier*, edited by J. M. Crane, who emigrated a year or two ago from Virginia, and who is in favor of division at some future day, is no less explicit:

"The most of those in this quarter (San Francisco) who advocate division do so for the purpose of introducing slavery into the Southern division."

This testimony is entitled to no consideration from the fact that he has no insuperable objection to the introduction of slavery, provided the people of California shall desire it.

The *Stockton Journal*, edited also by an emigrant from a slaveholding State, holds the following language:

"There is a

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